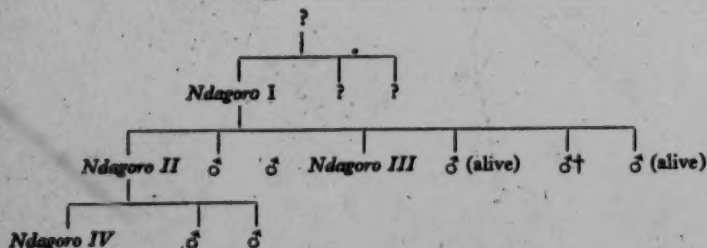


THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE 49

observe the general scheme of Nupe inheritance, one generation being run through before the next generation is admitted to the succession; but we notice also that the progress of succession left out two men of the older generation. 623

Genealogy of the *Ndagoro* of Mokwa

The same qualifications would also make a stranger who has settled for some time in a Nupe village eligible for a higher or lower *nusa* rank. But 'good reputation' would be understood according to local standards, which may not be the standards of the applicant. A lute-player in Doko, who had been living there for some twenty years, a fairly prosperous and well-liked man, still went without title. Lute-playing, though appreciated in Bida, was not in the eyes of the villagers a respectable profession. Had he been a farmer, or even a drummer, he would have been awarded a title long before. 623 554 609 533

If a 'new man' desires to be granted a title he broaches the subject first with one of the titled *nusa* with whom he is intimate; the latter will bring it before chief and council of elders, who will then discuss the question at their leisure. If, on the other hand, a rank falls vacant, especially one of the higher ranks, the official discussions will start at once, and all the men of the village will be talking about it and surmising likely successors. In the lowest ranks succession is a simple matter. In hereditary ranks, particularly in small families, the decision may also take but little time. When the *Ejuké* of Jebba Island—the hereditary Keeper of the Chain of Tsoede—died, his successor was known a week after his death, and the title was conferred upon him within a month. But sometimes the appointment of a successor is a serious and long-drawn-out business, and often enough, as we have seen, feuds may break out over the appointment of the most suitable candidate. Discussion follows discussion, often for weeks and months, especially if it happens to be the rainy season when everybody is busy and can spare only an evening or two in the week. The elders meet first, in small groups, in their own houses; later when the discussion has reached a more advanced stage they meet in the house of the *nusa* of highest rank and finally in the house of the chief. As always in meetings of this kind the assembly gathers in the entrance hut of the house; the younger men sit near the outer door, the elder men on the inner side of the hut. They are rarely given anything to eat or drink except perhaps a few kola-nuts in the house of the chief. 623

POLITICAL HISTORY OF NUPE KINGDOM

small kola-nuts, in fives or tens, were handed out to messengers, dancers, guild-heads, and other people of lower rank.

Even language and music are used as symbols of class. There exist in Nupe special drum-rhythms, *take*, greeting formulae, *kirari* (Hausa, lit. 'calls'), and songs which are linked with certain noble families and important ranks. As soon as a family comes to power or a man receives rank and title, the drummers of Bida will compose such *take* and *kirari* in their honour. You can, in fact, have them made to order, at various prices; but an influential person will not need to order them, for the drummers, counting on his patronage, will supply him at once with this musical salute. Some of the *take* and *kirari* which one can hear to-day date back to pre-Fulani times; others were composed recently. Whenever a member of these noble families attends a festivity, the drummers would announce his arrival by playing 'his' *take* and singing 'his' *kirari*, and the 'master of ceremonies', who is always present at such gatherings, would recite a long list of illustrious ancestors to whom the nobleman can lay claim, the ranks which he had held, and the deeds which he achieved. Lastly, the Nupe address each other by titles only, and never by name, if the person addressed bears a title. Special formulae of greeting are linked with every rank, and thus mark position on the social scale by the most obvious system of signs—everyday speech.

Class symbols and class etiquette shade over into the more substantial differences of class. Behaviour which is pressed into the service of class manifestation becomes indistinguishable from behaviour which results from differences in social and economic advantage. The right to carry a sword or appear everywhere on horseback presupposes the economic ability to acquire these 'emblems of rank'. Submissive behaviour of a client towards his patron, or a member of the lower class towards a man of rank, is determined as much by the convention of class etiquette as by the special interest of gaining favour in the eyes of a person of consequence. Here we are dealing with the other aspect of class differentiation, those 'cultural' differences which are, or become, typical of different classes. They revolve round the two pivots: political and economic structure.¹ They involve the existence of political prerogatives and the varying measures of individual liberty and mastery over one's own destiny, enjoyed by the different classes. Here we can outline the existing classes of Nupe society. We have met their protagonists already: the ruling class of the kingdom, rich absentee landlords, men whose occupation was war and slave-raiding, and, low down on the social scale, commoners and peasants, heavily taxed, and gaining a scanty livelihood rendered insecure by the very facts that add power and prestige to the ruling class. We have also met the craftsmen in the town, who share some of the privileges of the nobility, and the Mohammedan intelligentsia who can attach themselves to the highest stratum irrespective of

¹ The two structures do not define identical strata, nor is the economic differentiation invariably reducible to political prerogatives. However, we will leave the examination of the exact relation between the two 'pivots' of social stratification for a later chapter.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF NUPE KINGDOM

137

against the people of Bida, on whom they were dependent for the marketing of their produce, and whom they now held responsible for the disastrous fall in prices.

Legal unification goes a step farther. Dependence upon a common forum of morality evokes a certain group cohesion, a common orientation of mind at least in that all the component groups will share common hopes—and fears—and a common interest in whatever affects the judicial organization. If we can test the strength of economic co-operation by the facts of volume of trade and traffic and the relation between productive and consuming areas, we can test this moral reorientation by examining the measure of interest which the various groups evince in legal change. I shall show later how keenly the people everywhere in Nupe follow changes in the law. But I shall also show that this interest, all the more intense because such vital issues are involved, does not invariably foster the dissemination of true, or reassuring, knowledge: often it spells suspicion and fear of a biased jurisdiction and legislation. Whole sections feel themselves tricked and threatened by this dangerous law and reject co-operation with its agents and the groups which it seems to favour.

Dynastic and political changes engage the attention of the people no less strongly. When the late Emir died and a new Emir was appointed, and when the appointment of the highest royal ranks was to take place in Bida, the events elicited comments from many groups from which one would not have expected such interest in 'higher politics'. One day I was standing in a Bida street, talking to a brass-smith, when the *Kpotū*, one of the disappointed claimants to the throne, rode past. The brass-smith looked after him, shook his head, and said to me: 'It must have been a great shock to him when someone else was appointed *Etsu*.' In Kutigi, the district of the *Kpotū*, the older men knew all about the rumour of the *Kpotū*'s illness, which had been given out in Bida as an explanation or excuse for his not having been promoted to a higher rank. And in Mokwa, the district of the *Rani*, the elders told me with amusement of the abortive attempt of their District Head to obtain promotion by supernatural intervention: how he had gone to Rabá and prayed at the tomb of Mallam Dendo for the success of his political aspirations.

'Unity of interest' in this sense obtains also with respect to all things that affect the people, and the news of such events would travel fast from place to place. In March 1936, at a Bida wedding feast, I happened to hear girls sing a song the words of which sounded unfamiliar to me. I found it to be a new topical 'stanza' which referred to the activities of the Sleeping Sickness Commission which even then was working in eastern Nupe, i.e. Agaie or Dibo country. The song gave voice to the suspicions and fears of the people and their anxiety to escape, by whatever means, the unpopular treatment. The song runs as follows:

The needle is coming.
The Mallam of the needle,
The father of threading.
O let me go,
And not only for my money [i.e. also for pity's sake].

182
642182
144
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182 138

744

533

POLITICAL HISTORY OF NUPE KINGDOM

The needle killed the men of Dibo,
And also the men of Baro [a town in that district].
O father, save me and let me go.
If you must use your needle,
Do not let it bite me.

The 'needle' is the injection needle, and the 'Mallam of the needle' the native medical assistant who was performing the injection and who, according to the testimony of the song, could be bribed to spare the patient the (very painful) injection. The testimony, incidentally, was true; some time later I learned that one of the native medical assistants had actually taken bribes from the people, and had been apprehended not long after I had heard the song.

182 To summarize: political co-ordination calls into being a co-ordination
642 of interest—actual interest units—which in certain respects overcomes the heterogeneity of tribe, culture, and even class, and includes the whole people. Yet as economic co-operation goes its own ways, often disregarding political frontiers, so the other forms of 'reorientation' may tend to further the formation of new, even antagonistic, groups rather than to cement the political unit. The 'interest units' are, paradoxically, units that spell disunity. The paradox is easily solved: the common interests round which these units are focused are such that they show a different aspect and portend different things to rulers and ruled, or to adherents of different political factions. The units which they create may efface tribal and cultural divisions, and temporarily even the barriers of class: but in critical moments they will only put forth more forcibly the existing disparities and forms of antagonism.

We turn, then, to another group of integrative factors which seem to succeed where the interest units fail. They wield integration which endorses unconditionally the political unit. The secret of their success lies in that they attempt unity and integration in spheres in which the political interests suffer such integration to exist, and in which the divergent political interests are overcome by some stronger incentive to unity.

182 The study of the unity which the Nupe state has achieved, or is achieving, reveals the effectiveness of two main groups of such incentives. To
642 formulate them tentatively: one is self-enhancement—especially a self-enhancement that (in the language of psycho-analysis) 'sublimates' the humiliating experience of political dependence and inferiority; the other, the appeal of the mystic and supernatural. The first incentive reveals itself in the progressive identification of the people with the cultural values typical of the social elite; the second, in their readiness to adopt new myths and embrace religious beliefs and practices, which are vessels of political 'propaganda' at the same time. The two incentives may join forces, self-enhancement being offered in the realm of religion—as in the spreading of Islam, the religion of the rulers and conquerors, among the subject groups of the kingdom. We can also discern the agency of a third incentive, more unspecific and subsidiary in nature, which, as it were, canalizes the influence of the other two, namely, the

POLITICAL HISTORY OF NUPE KINGDOM

139

appeal to an historical (or quasi-historical) turn of mind. I have already called the Nupe an historically-minded people: here is another bit of evidence for this bent. We shall see presently how under its influence ritual emblems become relics, and self-enhancement takes the form of exultation in past glories.¹

Self-enhancement, then. These are the historical facts: the Nupe state has bound its many groups and peoples to its own fate, made them share its adventures, its conquests, the fruits of its victories and defeats. But the element of compulsion behind this commonness of fate disappears in its mental reflection. The commonness of fate is lifted up into the sphere of things eminently glorious and desirable. The people are eager to identify themselves with the kingdom and its fortunes, and share in a collective pride that ignores the social and cultural distance between rulers and ruled. Even the wars which deprived the Nupe of their own rights, chiefs of their independence, peasants of their wealth and land, become a cherished heroic memory. I was discussing the role of strangers in Bida with old Ndakotsu, one of my great friends, and I asked him whether there had been any Kamberi, Kamuku, or Gbari among the strangers who visited Bida regularly. Ndakotsu, last descendant of the Beni town-kings of Bida, who never became quite used to the idea that the *goi* (Fulani) had robbed him of 'his' town, said ironically: 'Kamuku and Kamberi? Yes, but only as our slaves'—the 'our' evidently meaning a Nupe which credited to itself the successes of its Fulani rulers. When I first came to Mokwa my informants first of all showed me proudly the historical places near Mokwa where some of the battles in the wars of the Fulani against the usurper Umar Bahaushad had been fought, and insisted on describing them all in detail, as if this were the most important thing I had to learn. This did not prevent them later on from complaining bitterly about the tyranny of the Fulani and their indifference to the fate of the people.

This new, proud consciousness of a unity which embraces the whole kingdom is kept alive by every song telling of old times and every story relating the adventures and feats of the kings of Nupe. With fashions and cultural practices, songs and stories spread from the capital throughout the country. The songs composed in honour of the king or one of his noblemen by the drummers of Bida find their way into all the bigger villages of the country. In Mokwa I heard a song which had been composed in Bida in 1918 in honour of Etsu Bello's first motor-car, the first motor-car in the country. I put this song in here as an example not of the force of poetic expression which it possesses (in spite of the uncongenial topic), but as an example of its efficient 'propaganda for the kingdom'.

¹ There exist also certain other subsidiary stimuli, such as aesthetic appeal, which we may disregard here. One may put the question whether these various stimuli are to be regarded as universal or as peculiar to the culture which we are studying. More comparative material is needed to answer this question finally. However, one can fairly safely say already that the appeal of the supernatural is a universal trait of the human mind, while the appeal to self-enhancement, and still more so the appeal to historical appreciation, differs in effectiveness in different cultures; it is eminently typical of Nupe culture.

241 occupation to farm-work (e.g. a handicraft, carried out in one's leisure-
 582 time) exist there, nor, finally, has its connexion with the political life of the
 178 town ever been as strong as in those other places.

COLLECTIVE LABOUR

241 The co-operation of the *efakó* group is more or less regularly supple-
 476 mented by a system of mutual assistance and large-scale collective labour
 among the villagers, an institution which the Nupe have in common
 with all other Nigerian tribes. Its help is enlisted in all cases in which the
efakó group by itself would be insufficient to secure efficient cultivation
 —be it because of its smallness, or an unforeseen obstacle such as illness
 among its members, or irregular rains,¹ or simply because its ambitious
 programme demands larger co-operation than is at its disposal. The
 Nupe have two systems of collective labour devised to operate in differ-
 ent situations: *egbe* (the Hausa *gaya*) and *dsolo*.

The *egbe* is the more general type of collective labour. It is not
 limited to farm-work, but is organized for every kind of work which
 demands large-scale co-operation and specially for work done, not for
 one household alone, but for the community at large. Thus the building
 or roofing of a big house, for example the chief's house, repairs of a bush-
 bridge or a stretch of road which is maintained by the village, are carried
 out in *egbe* work; repairs of the town wall, formerly, and repairs of the
 building of a Native Administration rest-house, to-day, are equally
 typical occasions for the *egbe*. However, in Bida and in many larger
 places a large proportion of work of this kind has now been taken over by
 professional labour. But in Bida as well as in the hinterland farm *egbe* is
 still practised regularly.

561 The help of *egbe* for farming is enlisted mostly for tilling and the first
 476 and second weeding, more rarely for the third weeding and the clearing
 241 of new yam-plots. A few days before the *egbe* is to take place the young
 men of the family go round to their friends and neighbours and invite
 them to the *egbe* on such and such a day. *Egbe* work is on the whole work
 for the younger people. A ready frame for their co-operation exists in
 the age-grade associations of which all the young men of a district are
 members. As they arrange throughout the year meetings and feasts in
 which they all join, they now organize the collective farm-work for one of
 their fellow member's family. The family head sends out a special
 invitation to drummers and musicians to play at the *egbe*. The accom-
 paniment of music plays a very important part. Finally, the host pre-
 pares food and beer for the feast with which the *egbe* invariably ends.

533 Early in the morning drummers and flute-players walk out to the farm
 on which the *egbe* is to take place. They play and sing while they walk,
 beating on their drums the characteristic rhythm of *egbe* music, and
 everyone who meets them knows at once their destination. Some of the

¹ I once witnessed a third weeding carried out by collective labour in Septem-
 ber, after an unexpected dry spell. The farmer explained to me that if the rains
 had been normal and ordinary farm-work not delayed, he would have carried out
 the third weeding in ordinary family work.

AGRICULTURE: ORGANIZATION OF LABOUR

are indispensable, and are accordingly rewarded in the disposal of crops intended for marketing. There are various methods in the disposal of crops. One is the following: the family head hands the produce he intends to sell over to his wife, either the whole produce at once, immediately after the harvest, or small quantities at different times, according to whether he is in need of ready money or can wait for a better price later in the year. His wife will then sell the produce in the market and return the money she received for it to the husband. He gives her a little of this money, half as present, half as commission. His gift varies with the price which she has managed to obtain, and will express his appreciation of her more or less clever marketing. The woman may, of course, have to try a good many different markets if she wants to obtain the best price; and the men may not always be in a position to check the price which their wives quote to them after the sale. My information is that the women do not hesitate to take advantage of this lack of control; but the men, it seems, are as well aware of this and regard it as a legitimate way of making money. Another method, possible only if the women have sufficient money in hand, is this: the family head sells the whole produce directly to his wife after the harvest. She pays for it, stores the produce in her own granaries, and sells it later in the year when prices have gone up, possibly in small quantities at a time to obtain the best price. This method is as a rule applied in the disposal of palm-kernels and the fruits of the locust-bean tree. Another method in the disposal of crops does not enlist the help of the women of the house—although it may have to enlist the help of other women in the person of the traders. It is limited to a few kinds of produce only: rice, kola-nuts, and also palm-kernels in case one's own wife is not an expert in oil-making; these goods are sold by the family head directly to professional traders.

So far the role of the Nupe woman—more precisely the wife of the Nupe farmer—is that of a 'broker' and 'middleman'. In the disposal of the produce of certain fruit-bearing trees, however, the women are assigned direct and absolute property rights. The fruit of the locust-bean so far as it has to be plucked from the tree is disposed of in the way described above; but the fallen fruits of that tree belong entirely to the women of the house. They can do with them what they like, and the money which they obtain from the sale of the raw as well as the 'refined' produce belongs to them. Also, the whole produce of the shea-nut tree belongs to the women. The exploitation of the shea-nut tree, the fruit of which is of comparatively high commercial value, is regarded as a definite monopoly of the Nupe women, and as representing a direct compensation for their contribution to the expenses of the household.

The picking of the fruit of the shea-nut tree by small groups of women also furnishes an example of a co-operative organization among the women beyond the single household or family, somewhat similar to the system of collective labour organized by the men. There exists another form of collective female labour which is regarded by the people themselves as the exact counterpart to the men's *egbe*. As the men, in *egbe* work, build or repair houses and roofs, the women's collective work is

AGRICULTURE: ORGANIZATION OF LABOUR

235

employed in the beating of the floors of the huts or the platforms in front and between the huts. This work is done in the evenings, when the women have finished their own housework. It has all the elements of the *egbe*: the generous meal awaiting the workers, the singing and dancing—the beating itself is done rhythmically, to the accompaniment of songs (no musical instruments are employed in this or in any of the women's dances), and in its movements the motions of work and dance are attractively combined. The group of women fills the hut to overflowing. They are arranged in concentric circles, pressing closely against each other. Bent low over the floor they beat the ground three times with the heavy wooden flail which they hold in their right hand, then pull themselves up, lift both hands in the air, and take a measured dance step towards the centre and back again, and then bend down once more to resume the beating of the floor. Or they fill this rhythmical pause in the work with the verse of some interminable song, and while singing they move a few steps along in the circle; when the moving ring comes to a halt they bend down to their work, to interrupt it once more in the rhythmical motion of this 'ring-dance'. Nor is the incentive of competition absent in this *egbe* of the women. House-groups compete with house-groups; girls of different age are assigned different tasks: small girls of 6-7 are working slowly and silently on the outskirts of the group; girls of 12 or so are singing with the women and work towards the inside, trying to emulate the speed and ease of the grown-ups; and the adult women, leading in dance and work, spur their teams to almost breathless speed. As they work and dance, closely packed into the small dark hut, stripped to the waist, their bodies glistening with sweat and spattered with mud, beating, singing, stamping, and shouting, they seem to be actors in some exciting savage ritual rather than in ordinary work.

To return to the more prosaic aspects of the division of labour between the sexes, and to the question of the 'compensation' for her contributions to the household which the exploitation of shea-nut trees allows the Nupe woman. The clearly defined attitude of the people with regard to this question of 'compensation' and the economic rights of the women in general is illustrated in the following example. We remember that the roast-ovens in which the shea-nuts are dried before being marketed or manufactured into shea-butter are built by the men. Now, in Leaba I found that the women had to dry shea-nuts in the sun, a much slower and more laborious procedure, as all their ovens were dilapidated and sadly in need of repair. I inquired why the men did not build new ones. The men explained they had no time and money. I suggested, half jokingly, that the men might be given a share in the profits made on the shea-nuts and in return repair the roast-ovens. Whereupon the women, realizing that their own special interests were involved, joined in the discussion, which is interesting enough to be given here word for word.

Women: 'Why should we give the men part of our money? Do we not cook porridge for them?'

I: 'But he gives you the grain for making the porridge.'

FREE PROFESSIONS

301

365
759
467 pays a small amount of money at regular intervals; the fund is administered by the guild-head; he deducts from it money for possible common expenses, and pays out the rest in full to every member of the guild section in turn, after every pay-day. This financial arrangement is fairly common in Nupe, specially among traders and labourers, and we shall discuss it in more detail later. The barbers, however, are the only professional group which has embodied it in its professional organization and utilizes it as a system of mutual financial assistance vested in the craft-guild.

The guild organization is restricted to Bida town. In the villages, even in the larger places, one or two barbers are sufficient to meet the normal demand. Besides, the medicine-man of the pagan districts would constitute a serious competition to the Bida doctors. But so far as barbers and barber-doctors are wanted in the country, the organization in the capital supplies them, either permanently or temporarily. Certain Bida barbers, for example, have settled in villages; others tour the country regularly, stopping in this or that place for longer or shorter periods. Even in these tours of the country districts round Bida, the barbers keep to the territory of 'their' royal house, i.e. the royal house on whose land in Bida their home stands. Although it clearly cannot be said of the barber-doctors that they 'serve the state' in the same way as blacksmiths or leather-workers, this arrangement is a striking evidence of the fact that their association with the political structure of the country is as strongly marked, and that they, again, are in certain respects the 'king's craftsmen'.

DRUMMERS AND DANCERS

533
467 The drummers in Bida, true to the more 'advanced' urban conception of art, are individualists; in the village, where the art of drumming belongs not only to the recreational side of social life, but also forms part of the organization of ritual and ceremony as well as production (we remember the part drumming plays in the farming *egbe*), it is less an 'art' in the modern sense of the word than a 'craft', working for well-defined institutionalized demands, and charged with responsibilities of a graver order. Drumming in the village thus moves in the framework of a close organization on guild lines. In every larger Nupe village we find a special group of drummers and musicians who, though belonging to different families and houses, yet recognize the authority of a common head, the *Etsu Dada*, the King of the Drummers. Certain other, subordinate titles, are distributed, in guild fashion, among the other members of the craft. The art of drumming remains in the family and is handed on from father to son. You may see small boys practising [968] drumming on little toy-like instruments under the eye of the father. They will go with him wherever he is called to perform, watching him and, when they are sufficiently advanced, accompanying him on their own drums. Sometimes boys from other families desire to become drummers. Their father will then get in touch with the head of the drummers, and give him his son as apprentice. The young apprentice will visit the drummer's house every day for his lesson. In the beginning

533 he will be allowed to use the drums in the house; later he will buy him-
 467 self a drum of his own. No payment is taken for the tuition; but when
 [322 the novice later performs at ceremonies or feasts, he will send his former
 435] teacher a small gift of money or food. The drums are made by the wood-
 workers on the river, who are alone in the position to obtain the suitable
 wood. One large drum costs 10s. The drummers themselves cover the
 drum and provide the goat skin for the diaphragm.

533 But all this is a thing of the past. To-day apprentices are hardly ever
 467 taken. The drummers, like so many other Nupe craftsmen, complain
 178 bitterly about the bad times. Formerly, they told me, they used to be
 paid 6s. to 8s. a night; to-day they receive 3s. for the night or, for one
 'song' (played, for example, at a family feast), one kola-nut. This decline
 appears to be due to two factors: first, to the impact of Mohammedanism
 and the gradual disappearance of rituals and ceremonies in which drum-
 ming formerly played a prominent part and the songs of which were
 stored in the memory of the village drummers; and second, to the
 spreading of fashions from the capital, and the competition of the more
 'refined', famous Bida drummers and musicians. The organization of
 the village drummers has survived only in the names of the guild ranks.
 The drummers, who once devoted only their spare time to farming, are
 to-day mainly farmers and carry on their old profession only as a side-
 line.

533 In Bida drumming and music were never tied to the narrow scope of
 545 limited traditional occasions; nor was the development of the artistic
 style rigidly hemmed in ritual. Both the profession and the style were
 allowed to develop freely, and the result is an impressive variety in artistic
 production and in its social counterpart, the organization of the craft. The
 Bida practice also introduces a completely novel element into the tradi-
 tional craft, namely, music and dancing executed by professional women
 dancers and singers. A number of performers, drummers and women
 singers (who rarely come of one family or household) associate with one
 another, and form themselves into a 'band' or 'company'. In this form
 they become known, are invited to perform at feasts and similar occasions,
 and also tour the country, sometimes even going abroad to other large
 towns in Nigeria where Nupe music always finds an appreciative public.¹
 In constant co-operation the 'company' builds up its special 'repertory'
 and evolves its individual style. There are several such 'companies' in
 Bida, each with its special repertory, style, and technique. They are
 known by the name of their leader, or by the name of the style in which
 they have specialized. Thus we find the group of the drummer Sogba,
 or the group of the woman singer Fati, or a group called *zawo* (lit. 'new
 man'), so called because it performs in a style only developed since the
 days of the 'new men', i.e. the British. One or the other 'company' is
 known to be patronized by a certain noble family and will be summoned
 at every occasion when the services of drummers and dancers are re-
 quired, a name-giving ceremony, a wedding, or an age-grade festivity.
 Certain drummers even enter a kind of *bara* relation with a nobleman

¹ I met a company of Bida drummers and women singers, whom I had known
 in Bida, in Lagos, where they were 'on tour'.

FREE PROFESSIONS

303

whose patronage they seek. Often the patron may order special com-⁵³³
positions from 'his' drummers, for example, a personal drum signal,⁵⁴⁵
called *taka*, for a newly acquired nobility rank, or a song of praise on
himself, or a friend or relation.

Between these different groups there is no co-operation. Each group is, economically, a closed unit. All earnings are divided equally among the members. This division of the income has no bearing on factors of family or household organization. Individual group-members may contribute to the expenses of their own families; but the 'company' is purely a professional association, to which the categories *efakó* and *bucá* do not apply. Professional and family concerns are, in fact, kept strictly separate, occasionally the two overlap, and we find a woman singer and a drummer of the same 'company' who are man and wife; but just as often a drummer has a wife, and the woman singer a husband, who are not members of the 'company', nor even of the profession.

Drumming in Bida is a full-time occupation (sometimes a drummer practises a little farming besides, but this is very infrequent). Each company regularly adopts new members as old ones retire. The novices serve their apprenticeship as minor performers of the 'company', until they become fully fledged members of the craft. Sons of drummers mostly follow the paternal profession; but many singers and dancers do not come from families whose women have practised this profession previously. Music and dancing in Bida is a vocation rather than a profession. The free competition of talent and individuality rather than family tradition determines professional success, and thus the professional association in which the craft organizes itself. Indeed the profession of Bida musicians and drummers represents the only instance in the economic organization of the country of a free association purely on a business basis, and without the support of the framework of kinship and hereditary tradition.

With regard to the profession of drummers and musicians town and country have exchanged roles: we find the closed and hereditary professional group (though of much smaller scale than guild organization proper) in the village, and the detached individual groups of craftsmen in Bida. But the principle of hereditary craft organization has remained essentially the same. We need only read village chief for king, and village community for state, and we understand the new situation. For the drummers, as we have seen, are as essential to the corporate life of the village as are the craftsmen proper to the political life of the state. In town-life, on the other side, drummers and musicians have no traditional duties assigned to them which concern the common interests of the group at large. Indeed the more varied social life of Bida, and the appreciation of new fashions and special styles typical of the cosmopolitan town, foster that spirit of originality and inventiveness which here as in all craft-work counteracts efforts at a closer co-operative organization.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

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pas de deux of leaps and cart-wheels which, when executed skilfully, 561
will be greeted with applause or, when less successful, with good-natured 574
laughter and banter. There are special drum-signals for every higher 574
ena rank which are sounded when the young men take the scene 535
and join in the dance. Rich age-grade associations, or certain high 584
rank-holders in the association, even have special dances and songs 369
composed for them, which are played, not only at these meetings
of the *ena*, but also whenever the *ena* members appear elsewhere at
a public gathering. Drummers and woman dancer would walk up
to the young man, and the dancer would recite the song which she
composed in his honour.

Moonlight makes all things good to look at.
The *maba* bids the townsfolk farewell for the night.
Give us of thy knowledge,
Ibrahim Ganleyi,
Thou grandson of wealth.¹

Drum-signals and songs are not the only symbols of age-grade status. 561
At every such festivity one of the drummers or some self-appointed 574
'master of ceremonies' will assume the role of an announcer. He is 533
called *maba*; announcer and jester in one, he must be witty and have the 369
gift of the gab. He collects the small gifts of money which guests make
to drummers and dancers; he announces the name and rank of the
donor and recites the virtues of his ancestors and famous relations (im-
presaviveness counting more than truthfulness), adding such praises or
witticisms as seem appropriate to the rank of the donor and the amount
of the gift. We see again how closely Bida age-grade etiquette follows
its model—the Nupe nobility; it copies every detail of its symbols
of status and wealth, even such features as the specific interpretation
of dignity forbidding persons of high rank to join in the common
dance.

It is easily understood that in the village, along with the model, the
copy must be absent also. At the gatherings of the village *ena* profes-
sional dancers and musicians are rarely summoned. There is no *maba*
and no extolling the feats and virtues of celebrated ancestors. Age-
grades and age-grade ranks 'own' their special drum-signals and dances;
but they are associated with the group, and not with certain individuals
who can afford to pay for the distinction.

The religious events in which age-grade associations participate con- 561
cern all grades. In the pagan ceremony especially the different grades 796
are allotted different tasks, which imply in varying measure admission to
the esoteric ritual activities. The main religious ceremony of pagan
Nupe, the *gunnu*, makes the *ena* members the protagonists of its ritual
drama and dances. Another ceremony, which occurs only in the Benu

¹ This song, which was composed by the *sawero* group of dancers (see p. 30a),
in the honour of the young man called Ibrahim Ganleyi, was recorded at an age-
grade feast in the house of a well-known Bida Mallam. It begins in the fashion
of all Nupe songs with the quotation of a well-known proverb. The term *maba*
which occurs in the second line is explained in the description that follows.

[533]

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286 by women mostly among the Bida upper classes.²⁰ Their work is not organized in a guild.

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Beadworkers are known as *lantana* and their craft, a luxury industry, consists of the "refining" of crude beads bought from Hausa and Arab traders; it is carried out in the entrance-but of the compound and is entirely individual. The majority of the workers are paid at piece-rates, one of them acting as contractor, and the chain of finished beads is traded by his wife. This industry is being extinguished by imports of European beads.²¹

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Glass-makers (masaga) claim to have originated in Egypt. Members of the guild are Moslems. The head (*tura*) is elected by popular vote. They have the most strongly organized and conspicuously self-contained of the Nupe craft guilds and there is a regular system of apprenticeship. This craft is mainly concentrated in Bida town. Black glass (*bikini*) is made, but this is being largely replaced by coloured glass (*kwalaba*) obtained by melting down bottles which have been bought by women traders. The native glass is made in one workshop, while fabrication is completed in others. Glass-workers have their market in their own quarter. Their main products are brightly coloured beads and bangles. Unlike other craftsmen, glass-workers undertake no agricultural work. There is no *bucá* work, all work being *efakó* with small wages.²²

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Tailoring and embroidery are individual crafts and members of the same household may belong to different professions. Tailors, including machine tailors, sometimes visit surrounding villages on their market days to find work. Their main products are caps, plain and embroidered gowns, trousers, and saddle-cloths. Their embroidered gowns are famous all over Nigeria.

Straw-hat makers use a "shape" of clay or wood and the crown of the hat is sometimes partly covered with leather. This is considered a "lazy" occupation, but a few craftsmen who have been taught European designs are well-to-do.

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Mat-makers of certain villages, e.g., Kutigi, are famous, and make oval or square, multi-coloured grass mats. The Basa-Nge of Igala Division make baskets and mats.

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Leather-workers formerly supplied a large part of the military equipment of the Nupe army—saddlery, leather shields, sword sheaths, quivers for arrows, etc. They work mainly in Bida town.²³

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Barber-doctors cut hair for men, women, and children; shave the head and cut the tribal marks of new-born babies at the naming ceremony and cut toe and finger nails. Individuals specialize in tattooing, medicines for diseases, contraceptives, cures for barrenness, treatment of lunacy, inhalants (*tware*), and minor operations such as circumcision and blood-letting. Hausa barbers remove the uvula of children.

Bida barbers, who are busy and prosperous, do not farm and their sons always become barbers, but this is not a "closed" craft. The length of apprenticeship varies. The most highly paid jobs are regarded by the family group as *efakó*, other jobs as *bucá*. There is a three-fold guild organization in Bida, corresponding to the territories of the three royal houses. Contributions from all *efakó* income are paid to the guild-head, who administers the guild fund, deducting money for common expenses and paying the rest in full to each member of the guild in turn.

There are also "medicine-men," whose craft is based on magical ideas and closely connected with divining and the Nupe religious system.²⁴

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Drummers and dancers, organized in mainly hereditary guilds, but with a system of apprenticeship, are found in all villages. Drumming may be recreational, for ceremony and ritual or ancillary to agricultural production (e.g., farming *egbe*). In

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 276-82.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 282-5.

²² Nadel, op. cit., pp. 274-9; 1940b, pp. 85-6; Robertson, 1935.

²³ Nadel, 1942, pp. 286-90; Line, 1947; Hopkins, 1934.

²⁴ Nadel, op. cit., pp. 298-301, and see below, pp. 46-7.

467 the villages drumming is mainly a side-line to farming. Drummers in Bida form
 533 small bands or companies, the origins of which, and the type of their performance.
 535 vary. Both men and women perform and women sing. Members of a single group
 may come from different families. There are no *efako* arrangements. Such a band
 may be in a *bara* (client) relationship to a nobleman. The various bands or com-
 panies do not co-operate. The drums are made by wood-workers on the river.²⁰

464 Western crafts are practised for wages in the workshops of the N.A. Public
 Works Dept. These craftsmen include blacksmiths, mechanics, carpenters, and
 bricklayers. Temporary unskilled labour is employed mainly in occasional work
 demanding a large body of unskilled labour, such as construction work of various
 kinds. Most of these labourers go home and return to their permanent work at the
 end of their temporary employment. Those who are farmers seek temporary
 employment during the dry season only, to supplement the normal source of
 income.²¹

Women's crafts

323 Pottery is practised individually. Jebba Island, Baro, Badeggi, and Bida are
 462 famous for their pottery and there is a regular trade in both potters' clay and pots.
 The main products are small water jugs and large water containers. Clay is pre-
 pared from swamps at Gbako River, at Badeggi, and sold by the villagers. It is
 tempered with powdered potsherd or brick. The building of the pots is individual
 work, but firing is undertaken collectively. Pots are simply fired, then given a brown
 wash or blackened with a concoction of shea-nut bark.

462 Shea-butter manufacture is carried out by women, but the roasting ovens are
 252 built by men.

386 Indigo-dyeing is practised only by a few *Kondu* groups, where the men are
 weavers and the women dyers. The indigo-grass and the indigo-tree are cultivated
 by men, but where the indigo is picked and prepared from wild growing grass, the
 work is done by women. The dye-pot platforms are made by women; the dyeing
 is carried out individually. There are a few groups of male dyers (e.g., in Mokwa),
 who use a rather different technique from that employed by the women.

286 Women's weaving is done on upright looms 21 ins. broad, which may be of
 Yoruba origin. Among the Basa-Nge, older women weave patterned raffia.
 Fishing-nets in Kede are made by old men and women from *rama* fibre.²²

411 Weapons and tools include spears, bows and poisoned arrows used by the more
 remote groups, and knives with blades 8 to 10 ins. long. A few men use flint-locks,
 and formerly a whole section of the Nupe army was equipped with guns.

501 Dug-out canoes are used by the Bataci as well as the Kyedye. Those of the
 latter are large and square with caulked top strakes. They are mostly obtained
 from Onitsha and the lower Benue.

534 Musical instruments include a central-hole flute (the blow-hole is midway
 between the ends of the tube), pipes, clarinets (of Hausa origin), various drums and
 643 rattles, long bronze trumpets (forming part of the royal insignia), and, in some
 areas, bull-roarers and animal horns.

532 Gabi figures are statues of different origins. Two bronze figures stand unpro-
 778 tected in the centre of the village of Jebba Island near a dilapidated hut which is
 said to have been formerly a temple. There are seven figures at Tada village which
 are kept in a round hut and carefully tended; some of these are human figures and
 some animal and they appear to be of diverse origins, but are regarded traditionally
 as having been left by Tsoede on his flight up the Niger.²³

²⁰ Nadel, *op cit.*, pp. 301-3. For an outline of the *bara* system see below p. 35.

²¹ Nadel, *op cit.*, pp. 304-5.

²² Nadel, *op cit.*, pp. 235, 293-7; Hopkins, 1934, Notes on Kede District, 1950.

²³ Temple, 1919, pp. 114, 117, 195, 332; Meek, 1925, vol. I p. 106; Walker, 1934; see also Palmer, 1931.